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ABSTRACT

During the past 20 years, public expenditures on criminal justice have risen astronomically and disproportionately to expenditures for other services. For the first time in American history, cities are spending more on law enforcement than on education. Although the federal government has cut its education contribution by 25 percent (in real dollars) in the last decade, federal spending for criminal justice has increased by 29 percent. Despite fierce competition for city, county, and state funds, the allocation of resources to the police, jails, and courts is rarely questioned. State expenditures on corrections (prison construction, maintenance, and parole) nearly doubled in the past 10 years. As shown in recidivism statistics dating from the 19th century, the criminal justice system has failed to cope with the problem of crime. Meanwhile, cities are forced to lay off teachers, cut public employee salaries, and reduce expenditures in every category except law enforcement. The crime rate (except for homicide) has remained relatively constant since the 1970s. Also, imprisonment has failed to reduce crime for over two centuries. A Michigan Head Start study demonstrated education's efficacy as a diversionary technique for reducing criminality. Reducing crime and violence will require a shift of priorities toward early education, drug rehabilitation, housing, and a safety net for families. Included are 16 tables and 21 endnotes. (MLH)

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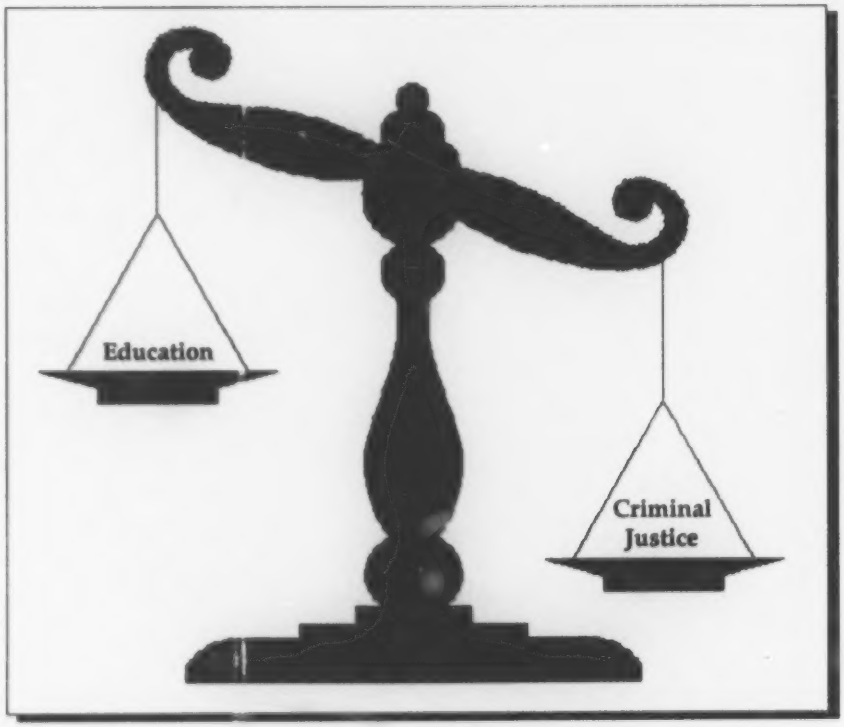
Trading Textbooks for Prison Cells

BY

William J. Chambliss, Augustus Scholar



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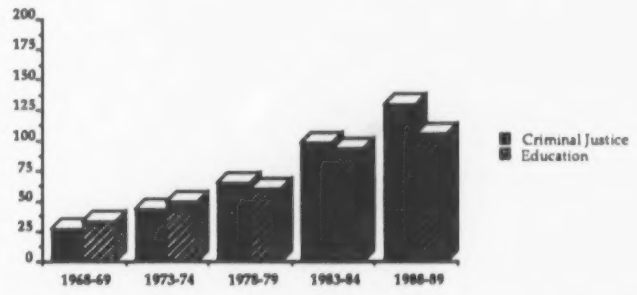
Trading Textbooks for Prison Cells

There are times when a sea change takes place in a society but no one seems to notice. Such is the case today in America. Public expenditures on criminal justice have risen astronomically in the past 20 years but it seems that no one is paying attention let alone asking why.

For the first time in American history cities are spending more on law enforcement than on education; a trend that has ominous implications for America's future (see Table 1). In Washington, D.C. the police and prisons are devouring more and more of the budget. Between 1985 and 1989 police expenditures rose 40 percent and corrections 58 percent to consume over one-fifth of the city's budget (see Table 2). While

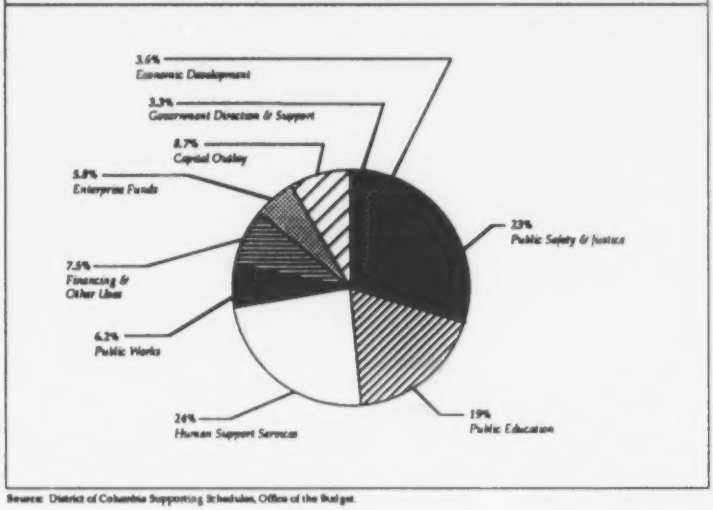
Table 1
Comparison of Per Capita Municipal Expenditures on Criminal Justice and Education
1968 - 1989



Source: U.S. Department of Commerce: Bureau of Census, *City Government Finances: 1968-69, 1973-74, 1978-79, 1983-84, and 1988-89*

the federal government has cut its contribution to education by 25 percent (in real dollars) in the last ten years, it has increased its allocation of resources for criminal justice without a pause; during the same time period the federal government increased its spending on criminal justice by 29 percent. The "War on Drugs" alone received $12 billion in 1990.

Table 2
D.C. Government Total Expenditures by Agency — 1989



Source: District of Columbia Supporting Schedules, Office of the Budget

The burden of meeting law enforcement expenses on large cities has become unbearable as they suffer through the worst fiscal crisis in their history (see Table 3). A National League of cities survey of 576 cities with populations exceeding 10,000 found

Table 3
City Deficits

New York City	$2.1 billion*
Philadelphia	229 million
Washington, D.C.	100+ million
Chicago	75 million
Detroit	32 million
San Francisco	27 million
Boston	21 million
Los Angeles	20 million
Virginia Beach	15.4 million
Dallas	10 million

*Estimate by the New York City Budget Director as quoted in the *New York Times*, January 6, 1991.

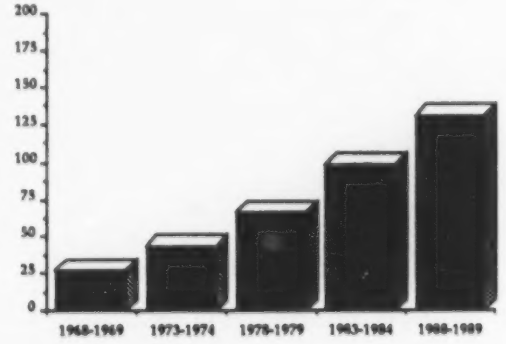
Source: City Budget Offices.

that 54 percent had revenue shortfalls. Philadelphia's credit rating is worse than Ivan Boesky's; the city has a $229 million deficit, San Francisco faces a $27 million budget gap, New York City's deficit is over $2 billion but nonetheless the city will spend $375 million to add 1,000 beds to its jail system and $66 million per year for 1,058 patrol officers who will be hired this year.

While the competition for scarce resources is fierce within city and state budgets, the allocation of resources to the police, jails and courts is rarely debated. For the past 20 years, funding for criminal justice systems nationally has increased faster and disproportionately to increases in other services. In 1988 the nation's justice system employed 1.6 million people with a payroll of $3.6 billion. The total cost of the justice system in 1990 exceeded $70 billion.[1]

Between 1969 and 1989 per capita spending on criminal justice in America's cities rose nearly 400 percent from $27 to $130. The police share of total city budgets across the country increased steadily from 8 percent in 1940 to 14.3 percent in 1989.[2] Meanwhile, in 1982, counties began spending more on criminal justice than on education. The gap has widened significantly. In 1988, $2 billion more was spent by counties on criminal justice than on education. State expenditures showed even greater increases rising from per capita expenditures on police and corrections of $8 in 1969 to $80 in 1989 (see Tables 4-6). State spending on prisons increased most dramatically, rising by a factor of 12 in this 20

Table 4
Per Capita Municipal Expenditures on Criminal Justice
1968-1989

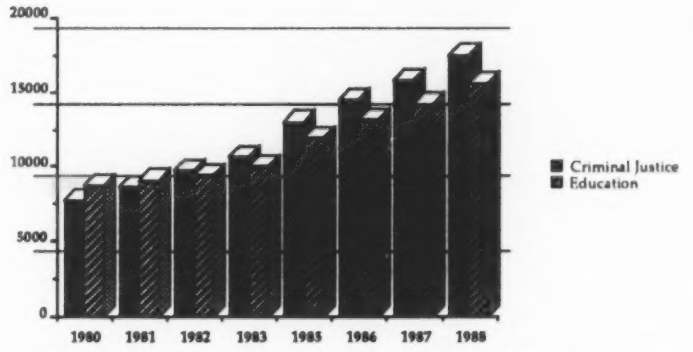


Source: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of Census, *City Government Finances in 1968-69, 1973-74, 1978-79, 1983-84, and 1988-89*

year period from $5 per capita to over $60. State government expenditures for building prisons increased 593 percent in actual dollars between 1979 and 1988. Spending on corrections — prison construction, maintenance and parole — has nearly doubled in the last ten years.[3]

This remains true despite the near total failure of the criminal justice system. Most people sentenced to prison, for instance, are rearrested. According to a study of recidivism conducted by the National Institute of Justice "of the 108,580 persons released

Table 5
County Expenditures
for Education and Criminal Justice
(in millions)



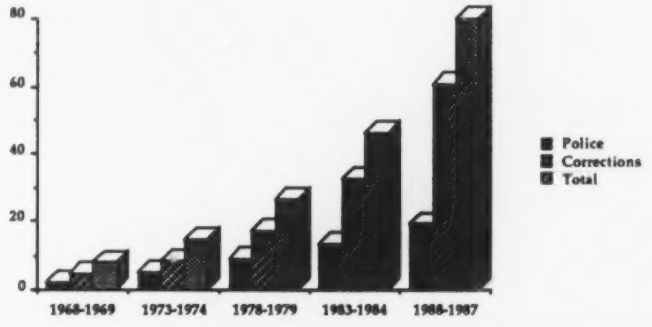
Source: U.S. Department of Commerce: Bureau of Census, *County Government Finances: 1983-84* and *1988-89*

from prisons in 11 states in 1982,. . .an estimated 62.5 percent were rearrested for a felony or serious misdemeanor within 3 years. . ."[4] These findings are consistent with research dating back to the nineteenth century. The criminal justice system as a means of coping with the problem of crime is an utter failure. It remains the one institution that receives more public funding the more it fails. It is as though a university managed to take literate students in as freshman and graduated illiterates four years later but was able to convince a gullible public that this was because it did not have enough money.

Meanwhile cities are forced to lay off teachers, cut salaries of public employees and reduce expenditures in every category except law enforcement. Budget proposals in the state legislature in Florida recommend decreasing per pupil spending from $3,899 to $3,870. School officials in Florida estimate that from 4,000 to 6,000 teachers will have to

be laid off in the fall of 1991.[5] Indiana estimates that a proposed $296 million cut in aid to education will cost nearly ten percent of the state's 55, 000 teachers their jobs. In Illinois in 1990, 2,000 teachers were laid off; that number is expected to double in 1991. In March 1991, 10,000 California teachers received pink slips in response to the Governor's $2 billion cut in education. New York Governor Cuomo is proposing an $893 million reduction in education spending which would translate into 8,000 fewer teachers.[6]

Table 6
Per Capita State Expenditure on Criminal Justice
1968-1989



Sources: U.S. Department of Commerce: Bureau of Census, *State Government Finances in 1968-69, 1973-74, 1978-79, 1983-84, and 1988-89*

In Washington, D.C. budget cuts in education necessitated slashing summer school programs in half; programs that affect the poor and poorly prepared students curtailing the possibility that they can make up for deficiencies through summer school:

> Parent leaders and city school board members said they fear that $10 million in budget cuts endorsed Monday by the D.C. Council's Education and Libraries Committee will delver a crippling blow to school programs and to teacher morale already crushed by program cuts and teacher furloughs ordered to meet this year's budget shortfall.[7]

The cuts for education were kept in the budget despite the alarm of parents and teachers. The police, however, fared much better despite the fact that Washington, D.C. has the highest per capita number of police officers in the United States. Furthermore, a Commission that studied District finances, chaired by Alice Rivlin, former director of the

Congressional Budget Office, recommended cuts in the number of police, concluding that:

> The [D]istrict could cut 1,600 positions [of police officers] and have no fewer cops on the beat. . .We came to the conclusion that the last 1,000 positions [congress added to the budget] were unnecessary.[8]

The Fraternal Order of Police, however, did not agree. They lobbyed furiously to restore the original budget despite evidence that some police officers were earning over $150,000 a year in overtime without making any significant number of arrests which might have demanded that they put in overtime as a witness in court (see Table 7). The end result was that the slashes in education remained in the budget, the cuts in the police did not. Instead of a freeze on hiring as the Mayor originally proposed, 350 new officers will be added to the police force.

Table 7
Arrests by Highly Paid Officers

Officer	FY 1990 Total Salary	FY 1990 Arrests	FY 1989 Total Salary	FY 1989 Arrests
A	$102,481	0	$ 79,028	0
B	102,413	0	75,683	3
C	120,395	2	102,836	10
D	92,468	0	95,561	0
E	91,686	0	51,485	0
F	88,310	0	56,318	5
G	99,984	0	48,268	0
H	103,758	7	60,188	15
I	85,462	0	57,238	0

Source: Office of the D.C. Auditor.

In Los Angeles the Board of Education in 1990-1991 cut $341 million from its budget which curtailed the use of substitute teachers, eliminated school counselors and after-school programs, among other things.[9] These cuts were necessitated by reductions in federal and state contributions to education as well as a shortfall in property tax revenues. Police, jail and prison construction as well as federal law enforcement programs, however, were given substantial increases while education was being shortchanged (see Tables 8, 9 and 10).

Table 8
Percent Increase in Elementary & Secondary Education — Capital Inclusive — and Correction Expenditures by States
1989 - 1990

Percent Increase in Education	Percent Increase in Corrections
7.3%	29%

Source: The National Association of State Budget Officers.

Overall, the Federal, state and local governments spent $57 per capita more on civil and criminal justice activities in 1988 than they did in 1985: an increase from $191 to $248.

Table 9
Percent Increase in State Capital Expenditures for Higher Education and Corrections
1989-1990

Percent Increase for Higher Education	Percent Increase for Corrections
46%	150.6%

Source: The National Association of State Budget Officers.

In addition to education, other programs that have a positive effect on reducing crime are also hard-hit in the current financial crisis. Welfare programs for the poorest Americans are hit even harder. In real dollars the Aid to Dependent Children program's cash contribution to a mother with two children and no outside employment dropped from $7,836 to $4,801 in 1991.[10]

The criminal justice system is virtually immune from the cuts experienced by other public services. On those rare occasions when a Mayor or Governor suggests cutting justice expenditures or even holding steady the number of police officers, the police unions' politicking and arm twisting quickly reverses the decision. In Prince George's County, a suburb of Washington, D.C., for example, when there was talk of layoffs and pay cuts for police, the police officer's union hired a public relations firm and ran television commercials citing increasing crime rates and accusing the County Executive of "handcuffing" police officers with proposed budget cuts. The Union spent over $10,000 in one week on television and newspaper ads.[11]

The word is clear: you can increase classroom size, fire teachers, cut Head Start and summer programs, even reduce expenditures on athletic programs in schools but you dare not touch the police or prisons.

Table 10
Capital Expenditures by Selected States (in millions)

Eight states spent more money for capital expenditures on correctional facilities than for higher education facilities from 1988 through 1990, fiscal years. Leading this trend is Texas which spent $0 on higher education facilities while spending $500 million on correctional facilities.

	Corrections	vs.	Higher Education	=	Difference
Texas	500		0		500
New York	612		314		298
Massachusetts	396		137		259
Connecticut	139		72		67
Ohio	30		0		30
New Jersey	199		166		30
New Hampshire	36		16		20
Maine	17		7		10
TOTAL DIFFERENCE:					**1187**

In these eight states almost $1.2 billion more was spent for construction of prisons than on construction for higher education.

The state which spent the greatest amount on capital expenditures for correctional construction was California. California spent $1.2 billion between 1988 and 1990, fiscal years. Its higher education capital expenditures for this period was $1.4 billion.

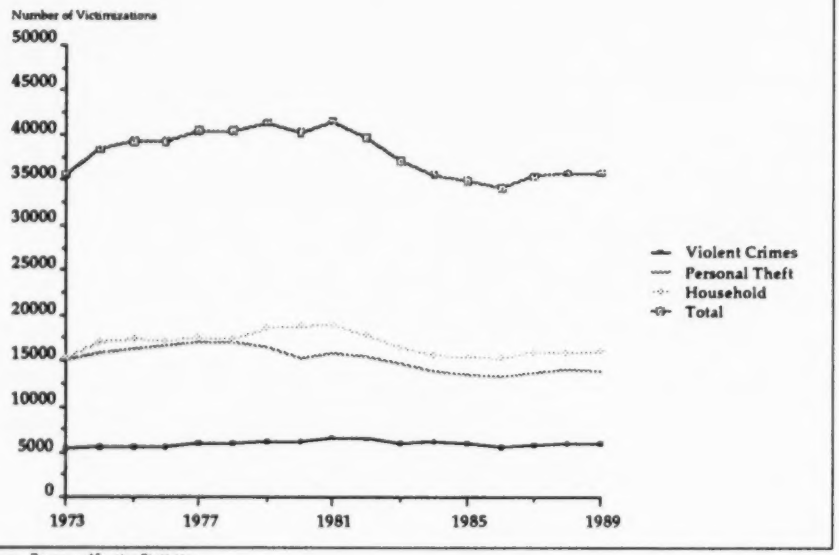
Source: The National Association of State Budget Officers.

Are Our Priorities Straight?

It is arguable that placing a priority on law enforcement vis a vis other public needs is justified because (1) there is an increase in crime and (2) the expenditures reduce crime.

Law enforcement agency propaganda notwithstanding, the crime rate in America has remained relatively constant since the 1970s (see Table 11). In every category of crime except one there has been an actual decrease in the amount of crime in the past ten

Table 11
Victimization Trends — 1973-1989



Source: Bureau of Justice Statistics.

years. The one exception is homicide. This anomaly is largely explained by the fact that the weapons in use today are far more efficient than ever before. Pistols have been replaced with rapid firing automatic weapons that leave a victim little chance of escaping with a wound. It is arguably the case that the amount of violence in America has not increased, only the likelihood that death will result from a violent confrontation. The solution to that problem is so obvious that one hesitates to mention it: control the availability of guns, as does every civilized society except the United States and you reduce the deaths from violence.

Of all the possible ways to reduce crime the criminal justice system has proven to be perhaps the least effective. Putting more and more people in jail and prison has failed to reduce crime for over two centuries. This is as true today as it ever was. Most of the people who commit most of the crime accept the possibility of jail or prison as "the cost of doing business." As David Dragna, a heroin addict remarked after being sentenced to prison for the tenth time, "It's just getting easier. It doesn't bother me."[12] As Harry King, a professional safe cracker (at the other extreme of the criminal type from David Dragna) put it: "I don't like to go to prison any more than an office worker likes to punch the clock. It's just one of the bad parts of my profession. I live with it."[13]

Alternatives to Criminal Justice

America has a penchant for curing disease after it strikes. Preventive medicine could save more lives than attempting to cure disease, but preventive medicine in the United States is more evident in its absence than practice. The same is true with methods of dealing with "the crime problem." The most, perhaps only, effective deterrent to crime is not the threat or imposition of punishment but providing meaningful alternatives to criminal activity. Drug clinics do more to rehabilitate drug addicts than prison; family counseling reduces family violence more effectively than police; and education, more than any other factor, reduces a propensity to crime.

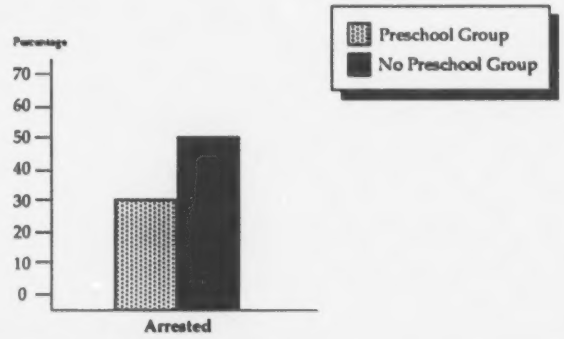
Keith Geiger, President of the National Education Association points out: "Studies of Head Start participants demonstrate that good preschool programs increase the likelihood that disadvantaged children will graduate, enroll in post secondary schooling, and find employment."[14] When 80 percent of the mothers are working outside the home, a growing number of children are born in poverty to young, single parents and schools in the inner city are under-financed and therefore unable to provide adequate education, we have a recipe for disaster and an invitation to crime that no criminal justice system can contain no matter what is spent on it.

> Children from poor families — precisely those most in need — are least likely to be enrolled in quality programs. Head Start now serves just one out of every five eligible children. . .children in families with annual incomes over $35,000 are twice as likely to be enrolled in preschool programs as those in families earning less than $10,000."[15]

A recent study in Michigan demonstrated the efficacy of education as a diversionary technique for reducing criminality. Involvement in delinquency of inner city children who participated in an extensive Head Start program was compared to a control group of children who did not share the head start experience. Those involved in Head Start were significantly less likely to be arrested by age 19 (see Table 12).[16]

Whether we explain crime as a result of association with "bad influences," a lack of opportunity, frustration and aggression or simply social control, successful educational experiences are the best predictors of a lack of arrests for delinquency.

Table 12
Comparison Between Preschool & Nonpreschool at Age 19
Perry Preschool Program in Ypsilanti, MI



Source: J.R. Berrueta-Clement, L.J. Schweinhart, W.S. Barnett, A.S. Epstein, and D.P. Weikhard. (1984) *Changed Lives: The Effects of the Perry Preschool Program on Youths Through Age 19.* Ypsilanti, MI: Highscope.

Yet the allocation of scarce resources on the federal, state and local level flies in the face of the fact that prison does not alter criminality and education does. In the past 20 years the allocation of resources for criminal justice has outstripped increases in the allocation of resources for education.

As mentioned earlier, the federal government's contribution to education at the state and local level has been cut by over 25 percent in the last ten years. On the county level the percent of the total budget devoted to education has declined from 16 percent in 1974 to 14 percent in 1989. Tables 13 and 14 show the relative distribution of resources to education and criminal justice for all levels of government. Table 15 illustrates how spending on criminal justice at all levels has come to represent an ever increasing percentage of the sum allocated for education. Even these figures understate the growing discrepancy because they do not include many law enforcement expenditures that go under the guise of "inspections" and "special programs" such as the $12 billion "war on drugs" the federal government funds.

Table 13
Expenditures on Criminal Justice — 1972-1988

Local Expenditures

Year	Police	Judicial	Prosecutor	Public Defender	Corrections	TOTAL (in millions)
1972	4.98 billion	973 million	350 million	63 million	961 million	7,247
1976	7.7 billion	1.6 billion	653 million	157 million	1.7 billion	11,810
1979	9.8 billion	1.9 billion	957 million	239 million	2.2 billion	15,096
1985	16 billion	2.8 billion	1.6 billion	433 million	4.3 billion	25,133
1988	20.3 billion	3.7 billion	2.2 billion	617 million	6.5 billion	33,317

State Expenditures

Year	Police	Judicial	Prosecutor	Public Defender	Corrections	TOTAL (in millions)
1972	1 billion	374 million	127 million	25.5 million	1.5 billion	3,026
1976	1.7 billion	663 million	253 million	78 million	2.5 billion	5,194
1979	2.15 billion	1.3 billion	453 million	128 million	3.8 billion	6,831
1985	3.5 billion	2.2 billion	800 million	297 million	8.9 billion	15,697
1988	4.5 billion	3 billion	1.0 billion	427 million	12.67 billion	21,597

Federal Expenditures

Year	Police	Judicial	Prosecutor	Public Defender	Corrections	TOTAL (in millions)
1972	963 million	179 million	107 million	80 million	146 million	1,475
1976	1.6 billion	219 million	149 million	103 million	285 million	2,356
1979	1.95 billion	370 million	276 million	240 million	393 million	3,229
1985	2.77 billion	852 million	803 million	343 million	778 million	5,546
1988	3.5 billion	1.1 billion	1.0 billion	385 million	1.2 billion	7,185

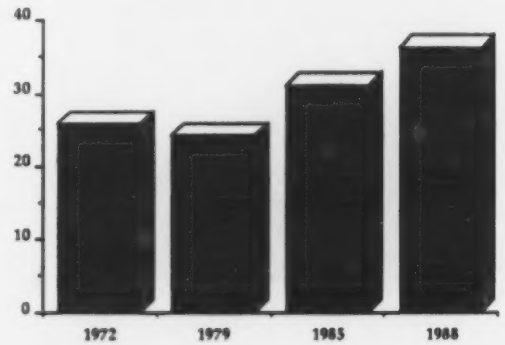
Source: Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics.

Table 14
Elementary & Secondary Education Expenditures — 1970-1986

Year	Federal	State	Local	TOTAL
1970	$3.4	$15.8	$21.7	$45.7 billion
1975	6.0	27.2	31.7	72.2
1980	9.4	44.7	41.6	103.2
1982	8.2	52.8	49.8	120.5
1983	8.4	56.5	53.2	128.7
1984	8.7	60.7	57.8	139.0
1985	9.1	66.8	60.8	149.4
1986	9.9	73.9	65.0	161.1
1988	N/A	N/A	N/A	170.7

Source: For 1970-1986, Statistical Abstract 1988; for 1988 total, National Education Association

Table 15
Criminal Justice Expenditures as a Percentage of Education Expenditures



Who Goes to Prison and Who Gets Educated?

Who is being arrested, prosecuted, tried and sentenced to prison and jail that justifies the current allocation of public resources to the criminal justice system? For the most part those being arrested and sentenced are minor offenders who do not seriously threaten the community. A study of incarcerated inmates in 1987 conducted for the National Council on Crime and Delinquency concluded that:

1. The vast majority of inmates are sentenced to prison for petty crimes that pose little danger to public safety or significant economic loss to victims.

2. Although drug use is a frequent activity in their lifestyles, most inmates are not addicted to drugs. Rather their involvement with drugs helps to maintain a meager, not lavish, level of economic and psychological existence.

3. Although they share the same middle class goal as most Americans — a home, family, and job — they are ill-equipped to maintain a legitimate job for any significant period. Hence they occasionally resort to a disorganized and petty criminal lifestyle."[17]

A survey of the arrest reports of all the inmates held in a metropolitan jail in 1989 supports these findings. Large numbers of inmates were held (at a cost of approximately $25,000 a year) for "trespassing" which on closer inspection turned out to be homeless black men seeking food in fast food restaurants. Larger numbers of others were sentenced for "possession of narcotics paraphernalia" or possession of small amounts of narcotics.[18]

Indeed, 40 percent of the inmates in federal prison and over 25 percent in state prisons and local jails are sentenced for drug offenses. The majority are for marijuana and a majority of those are for possession, not for "dealing" or "selling."[19]

At the same time the number of inner city youth receiving an education that will prepare them for the work force in anything but the lowest level of unskilled labor is declining. More than 40 percent of black males over the age of 25 are illiterate. One out of four black males between the age of 20 and 29 are either in prison, jail, on probation or on parole.[20] There is no way this cycle can be broken without the allocation of

substantial resources to create inner city schools capable of teaching and caring for children born to young, single parents, who are themselves uneducated and poor and where the likelihood of going hungry is far greater than the likelihood of being helped at home with their schoolwork (see Table 16).

Table 16
Hunger: How Widespread a Danger?
Percentage of children under 12 who are hungry or at risk

State	Hungry	At Risk	State	Hungry	At Risk
Alabama	17.0%	18.0%	Montana	14.7%	16.8%
Alaska	8.3	9.4	Nebraska	13.2	15.4
Arizona	12.1	13.7	Nevada	12.9	15.0
Arkansas	18.4	20.1	New Hampshire	5.8	6.8
California	13.1	14.7	New Jersey	10.0	10.3
Colorado	9.9	11.1	New Mexico	17.2	18.9
Connecticut	7.8	8.4	New York	14.6	15.1
Delaware	10.6	11.2	North Carolina	12.4	13.9
D.C.	17.1	16.6	North Dakota	12.8	15.1
Florida	13.2	14.3	Ohio	11.7	12.6
Georgia	13.1	14.0	Oklahoma	13.5	15.2
Hawaii	10.8	12.9	Oregon	11.3	12.8
Idaho	15.6	18.8	Pennsylvania	12.3	13.3
Illinois	13.9	14.1	Rhode Island	12.2	13.4
Indiana	12.0	13.3	South Carolina	15.0	16.3
Iowa	14.7	17.0	South Dakota	13.4	15.2
Kansas	10.5	12.3	Tennessee	14.7	16.0
Kentucky	14.3	15.5	Texas	13.6	15.0
Louisiana	15.9	16.2	Utah	11.3	14.2
Maine	11.2	13.1	Vermont	10.0	10.5
Maryland	7.9	8.5	Virginia	9.7	10.8
Massachusetts	9.3	10.0	Washington	10.7	12.0
Michigan	13.3	14.3	West Virginia	18.3	20.3
Minnesota	9.8	11.4	Wisconsin	11.4	13.3
Mississippi	18.9	19.8	Wyoming	10.2	12.4
Missouri	12.7	14.2			
			UNITED STATES	12.8%	14.0%

NOTE: Percentage "at risk" represents children living in households that experienced aspects of hunger.

SOURCE: Food Research and Action Center.

Senator Roth introduced legislation to call on agencies to provide "performance-based budgeting" proposals. Performance-based budgeting would require that government funding be based on objective measures of performance as established by criteria for the success or failure of the agency. Educators are constantly barraged with criticism for their failure to teach everyone to perform on national tests at a level deemed acceptable. Police, courts, and prisons however, are never held accountable for the effectiveness of their performance. Indeed, in what amounts to the perfect solution for a bureaucracy's self-perpetuation, the worse job they do the more funds they demand. If the crime rate goes up which logically one would think would reflect poor performance on the part of the police, the budget is increased and more personnel are added. Since, according to the police themselves the crime rate is ever increasing, this amounts to the perfect bureaucratic solution to the desire to grow indefinitely and increase the share of the budget to which they can lay claim.

Conclusion

In the past 20 years America has grown increasingly dependent on a single approach to the problem of crime. The logic that dictates ever-increasing expenditures on police and prisons goes unquestioned as we continue to put more and more young men in prison every year. Today over one million people are in jail and prison; disproportionately these are young black men. The vast majority of these offenders are incarcerated for minor offenses.

Public policy in the last 20 years has emphasized exactly the opposite of the policies necessary to reduce crime. Education, which is the single most effective method of reducing crime is starved while the criminal justice system, which is the least effective, gobbles up more and more tax dollars

Reducing the amount of crime and violence in the United States is a difficult problem. To accomplish this requires a fundamental shift in public spending and priorities in criminal justice emphasis. Early education programs geared to the needs and interests of inner city children are essential. Drug rehabilitation programs that are readily available as well as family centers for educating and assisting young mothers, a decent standard of housing and a reasonable safety net for families are also essential. As President Johnson noted in 1969:

> Laws are less likely to command the respect of those forced to live at the margins of our society. Stability and order have little meaning and small advantage to those who exist in poverty, hopelessness and despair.[21]

Unburdening the justice system by removing the majority of defendants accused of minor offenses would be a relatively simple and effective solution to many of the problems currently created by the criminal justice establishment, including the financial ones. It would reduce seemingly uncontrollable costs which presently burden taxpayers and allow prisons and jails to provide rehabilitation, education and job training programs that are currently almost nonexistent.

Alternatives to prison must be developed and applied throughout the criminal justice system. Research on the use of alternatives such as community service and job

training indicate that these alternatives are ***at least*** as effective and much cheaper than incarceration.

A massive national effort is needed to solve the crime problem in America. The one presently underway will only make matters worse. An effort to change this process is bound to be difficult given the power of the entrenched law enforcement and prison bureaucracies and their ability to define reality in their own interests. The problem, however, is grave enough to deserve the effort.

Footnotes

[1]The figure given in official publications of the Department of Justice for 1988 is $60,980,334,000, see Timothy J. Flanagan and Kathleen Maguire, eds., Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics — 1989, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. Washington, D.C.: 1990, p. 2. The estimate of $70 billion is a conservative estimate that takes into account the rate of increase and expenditures such as the expenditure on the "war on drugs" and other special programs.

[2]Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Police Employment and Expenditure Trends, Special Report*, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1986.

[3]Bureau of Justice Statistics, *Justice Expenditures and Employment, 1988*, U.S. Department of Justice, Washington, D.C., 1988.

[4]Allen J. Beck, *Recidivism of Prisoners Released in 1983*, U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics. Washington, D.C., April 1989.

[5]John C. Van Gieson, "State's Pre-Pupil Spending May Fall," *Orlando Sentinel*, March 30, 1991.

[6]Lee Mitgang, "Teachers Face Worst Layoffs in Years Next Fall," *St. Augustine Journal*, St. Augustine, Florida, March 28, 1991.

[7]Shaun Sutner, "Proposed School Cuts Called 'Devastating'." *The Washington Post*, March 28, 1991.

[8]Nell Henderson, "Plan to Cut D.C. Police Defended," *The Washington Post*, April 24, 1991.

[9]Sandy Banks, "School Chief Unveils Potential Budget Cuts." *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1991.

[10]Rich Spencer, "Inflation's Bite on Benefits: Welfare Checks' Value Eroded, Study Finds," *The Washington Post*, May 10, 1991.

[11]Debbie M. Price, "P.G. Union Ads Decry Police Cuts," *The Washington Post*, February 12, 1991.

[12]John Hurst, "California Prisons," *Los Angeles Times*, May 8, 1991.

[13]Harry King and William J. Chambliss, *Harry King: A Professional Thief's Journey*, New York: Macmillan, 1988.

[14]Keith Geiger, "A Profound Failure: Early Childhood Education in America," *The Washington Post*, November 11, 1990.

[15]Ibid.

[16]Reprinted from: *Youth Investment and Community Reconstruction: A Tenth Anniversary Report of the Milton S. Eisenhower Foundation*, 1990, pp. 12.

[17]James Austin and John Irwin, *Who Goes to Prison*, National Council on Crime and Delinquency, San Francisco, California, 1990, p. 1.

[18]This report is from the files of research in progress on the relationship between criminal charges and police reports.

[19]Timothy J. Flanagan and Kathleen Maguire, eds., *Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics 1989*. U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, Washington, D.C., 1990.

[20]Marc Mauer, *Young Black Men and the Criminal Justice System: A Growing National Problem*, The Sentencing Project, Washington, D.C., February 1990.

[21]Speech before the Senate, February 1969.